1: Wilson E-5 (1934-1938) 1951 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

CHAPTER II

VILLAGE ORGANIZATION

Nyakyusa villages (*ifyanga*)[1] are formed by groups of boys or men, all roughly of the same age, together with the wives and young children of those who are married. Women belong to the villages of their husbands, young children to those of their fathers. Girls live at home until they are betrothed, after which they visit their future husbands periodically, and soon after puberty each join her husband in his village. Boys, who marry later in life, leave home at about the age of ten or eleven and set up villages of their own.

a. The genesis of the village

Between the ages of about six and eleven boys sleep at their fathers' houses and herd their fathers' cattle. This is a full-time, if not a very arduous, occupation. The cattle are driven out about an hour or two after sunrise and return to be milked about 1 p.m.; after an hour they are again driven out and do not come back until sunset. The cattle of a group of neighbours, usually five to ten,[2] are herded together by their young sons; and at these boys spend all day together for several years of their lives. This group of boys is the germ of the future age-village; it is a community with a common activity in the herding of the cattle, with a leader and laws and customs of its own.[3]

When the boys reach the age of ten or eleven, two important changes usually take place in their lives. Firstly, they leave the herding of cows to their younger brothers, and themselves begin the business of hoeing the fields which will occupy them until they die; secondly, they no longer sleep in the houses of their fathers but join an age-village of boys. Nowadays the two changes usually, but not always, take place at the same time, and well before puberty.

[1] Cf. *Ifyanga* (singular), 'a component of generation or equivalent of equal age'.

[2] The herd group is smaller in young men's villages where few are cattle-owners, and a man will soon exceptionally herds his cattle alone.

[3] G. and M. Wilson, *The Analysis of Social Change*, pp. 9–10.

1:Wilson E-5(1934-1938)1951 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

Before the establishment of peace by European authority, however, cattle were commonly herded by young men, armed, and only the calves were entrusted to boys, who herded them near the homesteads; therefore moving to a boys' village did not coincide with the change of occupation. Even to-day it is not uncommon for some boys who have reached puberty to be found herding cattle. One we knew herded his father's cattle although he had reached puberty, because he had no younger brothers old enough to take over, and there were only five or six boys in his herd-group altogether. There are also cases where special circumstances put the age of moving later. In one age-village the boys leave home a little later than usual because there are leopards about and it is dangerous for small boys to walk from the village of their fathers to that of the boys, after dark.

When a number of the sons of a village of married men have reached the right age, their fathers give them a piece of land to one side of the parent village on which to build. There they build little huts of reeds for themselves, sufficiently well thatched to keep out the heavy rain, and there they sleep (vide Plate II). The building of the huts on this land begins in a playful manner, before the boys move. While they are still herding cows and sleeping at home they build miniature huts there in their spare time, but do not sleep in them. When they move they build slightly more substantial huts with better thatch. At the beginning, when a group of boys starts a new village, or when boys join one already formed, they do not all have huts for themselves: two or three friends share a hut. But later, as they grow older, each builds for himself.

Until he marries each boy eats his father's food in his father's village and eats food cooked by his own mother or his father's house, but he sleeps with his friends. Thus between the time when he leaves home and his marriage each is a member of two villages: economically he still belongs to that of his father, socially to that of his own contemporaries. Though bachelors eat at their parents' home, it is very rarely that they do not eat in the company of their own friends. A bachelor does not simply go home to eat by himself, but a group of bachelors, friends living in the same boys' village, go round together eating at the house of each one's mother in turn.

In an age-village of married men there are always several

1:Wilson E-5(1934-1938)1951 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

still cultivates his father's fields and eats at his father's home. In former days, we were told, the marriage age of men was even later than it is at present (*vide infra*, p. 81). 'Perhaps after twenty a boy would be betrothed, but to a young girl, and he would wait eight years before she grew up.'

From the time boys begin to herd they recognize one of their number as a leader. 'When we herd cows as boys', a friend told us, 'there is always one who is obeyed by his fellows whatever he says. No one chooses him, he gains his leadership and his prestige by bodily strength. For always, when we are boys together among the cows, we vie with one another and dispute about going to turn back straying cattle, or about finishing fire to cook the food we have brought with us. And so we start fighting, and we go on fighting until one of us beats all his fellows completely and so becomes the leader. And then it is he who sends others to turn back straying cattle, to finish fire and to collect firewood. And he is greatly respected. He settles quarrels too. What we quarrel about most as boys is a particular insult: one says to another: "You are only a child, you are, I am your senior." This is always happening and then it is the part of the one who is leader to set those two on to fight. We all stand round and watch and the one who first cries is proved the child.'

Later, when the boys have built apart from their fathers, one of their number is often appointed by the headman of their fathers' village to settle disputes between them. Some boys' villages have no such appointed leader, but many of them do. Such appointments are, however, temporary. It is only when political authority is transferred to their generation that the young men's permanent leaders are chosen.

4. *The 'coming out' ceremony*

Eight or ten years after the young men of the senior boys' villages of the childless have begun to marry, their fathers hand over the government of the country to them. This transfer of authority is effected in an elaborate ceremony called the 'coming out' (*ukusoka*).

The 'coming out' is a series of legal acts by which the country of an old chief and his village headmen (*amafumu*) is, with certain reservations, handed over into the possession and control of his

1:Wilson E-5 (1934-1938)1951 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

to these crops, production of which is now expanding—beans, groundnuts, coffee and rice—even though the latter is planted like millet in a seed-bed of ash. The cultivation of rice is on a commercial basis. A small number of men own ploughs which they hire out for preparing rice-fields, and the weeding and reaping is also often done by hired labour. For the hulling, grading, and marketing of coffee the Agricultural Department has established a coffee co-operative, to which all native-grown coffee is sold, but in this organization villages as such play no part.

d. Herding

In each village there are, as we have seen, several herd-groups, five to ten neighbours herding their cattle together. This association is voluntary, but it is usual for members of adjoining homesteads to co-operate—special friends in a village tend to build together—and the group is more or less stable. All the boys of appropriate age (six to eleven) go to herd, even though there is one son of their father already in the group, and when a man has cattle, but no sons of an age to herd, he may leave his cattle to be looked after by the sons of neighbours. As one old man put it: 'My cows are herded by other men's sons, but I give them neither milk nor payment, it is my duty done in this country. When I beget a son he will herd too.' There is thus considerable give-and-take between fellow members of the group. Among Christians, and those pagans who wish their sons to go to school, the herds take shifts, half attending the morning session of school, and half the afternoon session. Formerly, young men armed with spears herded the cattle for fear of raids, while boys herded the calves which grazed near the villages. The same young men used to herd and low, taking it in turn, or losing to the less afternoon when the cattle grazed near the villages and could be herded by the youngsters. The cattle were trained to follow the call of a herdsman and in case of danger were quickly led away and hidden.[1]

In the large villages of the plain an assistant headman, one of whose functions is the care of cattle, is connected with each herd-group. In his homestead, under the headman, a smoky fire is kept going during the heat of the day, and there the cattle of the group

[1] D. Burrows, *op. cit.*, p. 109; P. L. W. Main, *op. cit.*, p. 29

3: Mackenzie M-S (ca. 1925) 1925
FN17 Ngonde FN17

551 He is now Ambengire Mwakalukwa Mwakasungula; but his mother usually has a pet name for him, which no one else uses; and, finally, at marriage he takes yet another name, used only by his wife. But only one name is used at a time. When the personal name, Ambengire, is used, he is among familiar friends; when he is called Mwakalukwa he is being referred to as his mother's son; and when it is desired to honour or humour him he is given his title of Mwakasungula.

Girls take the personal name of the paternal grandmother, but are sometimes referred to by their father's family name.

•[67] For boys, the work of life begins at about five. It is a greatly longed-for promotion, for at that age many of them go out with the bigger boys to herd the village cattle. One may see almost anywhere a couple of infants, with long sticks, looking after herds of fifteen to twenty head of cattle, and having a thoroughly good time of it. In the low-lying plains they do not begin till they are eight, for there the grass is longer, and the ever-present dangers of the bush are more difficult to guard against. The boys, big and little, get together in groups, and there is no kind of evil that growing boys can learn that they do not learn during that period; but they learn also much that is good, and useful in after life. About eight to ten thousand children of all ages around the Mission schools, but with many attendances is spasmodic, and the great school of life is the bush. The majority of parents follow the educational principles of Mr. Samuel

[72]

J. Mackenzie M-S (ca. 1925) 1925
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Weller, senior, and turn their children out into the bush to learn whatever the companions they find there have to teach them.

They play at "grown-ups," having their own chiefs and headmen; build houses, pay taxes, learn various useful and many injurious things. Their "chiefs" demand taxes, and there is no pretence about it. A boy must steal, even if it be from his own parents, whatever his chief wants, and pay it to him as tax. More serious thieving is often attempted, and the chief, who is usually the biggest bully of the crowd, will bring to trial and punishment the very boys whom he sent out to steal. Mimic battles are fought in good temper, but they sometimes end in serious injury to some of the warriors. The great achievement which all boys have to excel in is the high leap, and a thrashing may be the portion of the unlucky one who is weakest. Tricks of many kinds are indulged in, one of the favourites being to send a naive child off on some errand, and on his return direct him to sit in a place where a fire has been kindled, and the ashes removed in his absence; or he is ordered to sit where thorns have been placed for him. No boy dares to disobey such orders.

Mimicry is a favourite amusement. I have seen remarkably good imitations of motor-bicycles made by quite small boys, even the "phut-phut" being reproduced by another boy running along with a bent reed touching the ground. Lanterns are made out of pumpkins, as boys at home make turnip lanterns. Flute and drum are fashioned out of leaves, and tiny

3: Mackenzie M-5 (no. 1925) 1925
FN17 Ngonde FN17

canoes of maize leaves are seen floating down stream, with shouting and racing competition between the owners.

Girls help their mothers, and at a very early age look after their younger brothers or sisters. It is a common sight to see a small girl staggering along under weight of a fat baby brother strapped to her back.

In the hotter regions boys go naked till ten or twelve, wearing nothing but a piece of string on the waist and a charm on neck or wrist. Girls begin to wear bark-cloth waistbands at five or six, adding more as circumstances permit. Their clothing is provided by the father; but boys, at whatever age they begin to wear any kind of garment, have to earn it for themselves, for it is not the business of their fathers to clothe them. They often, however, get a fowl or two, or even a goat or a sheep, from a grandparent, with the proceeds of which they buy a yard or two of cloth.

In the great majority of families there is a great difference in the treatment of boys and girls. The boys are uncared for, dirty, unclad, and run wild; while the girls are kept clean and tidy, well fed, and as far as possible clothed at an early age. The reason is not far to seek. Girls are a source of wealth, and a dirty, ill-cared-for girl will command low bride of cattle when the time comes to think of her marriage. Boys, on the other hand, have value only as representatives of the family when the father has passed to the spirit world, and their value is not dependent on external circumstances. A change is being effected,

J. Mackenzie M-S (ca. 1925) 1925
FN17 Ngonde FN17

being the one that hits the object a given number of 506
times in succession.

Ingwama, the lion, is a piece of banana cord 504
tacked to a string and whirled round the head, when it makes a noise correctly resembling the growling of a lion. *Ifula*, rain, is our ball-saver; old people still believe that it stops the rain; but even they admit that no well-disposed spirit takes any notice of child's play. *Kondo* is a kind of top, spun by twirling it between the palms and letting it go. Whip-tops are [171]
in use, but are of European origin. A kind of mimic ammunition is supplied by the seeds of the *unyungwi* tree, which are thrown at the enemy, and all who are hit are "killed," and carried off the field.

Konde children are perfectly happy. Those who 157
go to school hail the dismissal hour with the same shouts of joy as little people at home. The boys will climb a tree perhaps, with the more glee if the teacher's prohibition has added a whiff of danger to the exploit. Or they will chase an unfortunate goat around; though the goat, having been handled from earliest childhood very much as we handle pet dogs, probably enjoys the sport as much as the boys do. A couple of boys may get astride a young bullock, and go careering along the road; or more likely the whole troop will make a rush for the nearest water in river or lake, and with terrific noise splash about in joyous excitement. No doubt those who are strictly excited look with envy on the scraps of clothing worn by their more fortunate fellows, but that does not silence the shout of glee which fills the air as boys and girls are let loose

3: Mackenzie M-S (ca. 1925) 1925
FN17 Mgonde FN17

•857 from school. Where there is no school there is not the joy of being "let out"; but other joys exist, for the Konde child is just as much an adept at finding outlets for his energy as European children are when left to themselves.

3: Mackenzie M-5 (cir. 1923) 1923
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and will follow the caller wherever he goes. They come to be milked morning and evening, and no cow moves until her name is called. The greatest insult that can be offered to a man is to sprinkle milk on the road behind him as he passes, suggesting, "You are too incompetent to provide yourself and your family with milk to drink; I can spare some to mock you with." And such men is jealous of the quality of his herd. A year or two ago, a wedding party went to pay over a cow to the bride's father. It was not a high-class animal: a bystander threw a taunt, and in the fight which followed, two men were killed, and a number wounded.

The man is the owner of the cattle as a rule. It is rare for the wife to own any; but sometimes a father will make his daughter a present of a cow, which becomes hers absolutely, to pass, with its increase, to her on at her death or his marriage. The husband also may set a cow apart for his wife, but it returns to him in case of divorce.

During the day the cattle are herded by the village boys, each family sending one or two in turn to the work. They have a thoroughly good time, though for the smaller boys it is rather a testing time of mind and muscle, for they have a severe apprenticeship to serve. Cows are milked by the owner usually twice a day. No one ever salutes a man while so engaged; if the milk stops, he will be accused of witchcraft. A visitor arriving at milking time will sit down and wait, neither he nor his host taking any notice of each other until the cow that is being milked

Unmarried children have the right to feed partly in virtue of their general relationship to their parents, partly because they themselves assist in the work of the household. From the age of about six years boys herd cattle, from about eleven years they begin to fight; while girls help their mothers in field work, in the fetching of wood and water and in the care of infants. And, owing to their practical usefulness, there seems to be less difficulty in getting motherless children regularly fed before they marry than in getting them entertained afterwards. Each such child is allotted to one wife and is mainly fed by her.

In some households unmarried sons live only on the particular plots of their own mothers; but in others the sons and the sons work together as a team, having each plot in turn. In two neighbouring polygynous households I found that in three cases the sons confined themselves to the plots of their own mothers, in seven the sons and the sons worked always together. Three followed the same pattern as the latter. In the three cases the mother of each boy alone provided him with food, but in the other seven cases the step-mothers did also.

The reasons of natives between different households was thus explained to me: "The custom of living separately, each boy for his own mother only, is sometimes determined by lack of friendship between the women, sometimes by the dislikeness of their husband to living. If he is dead, most boys find it folly for the women to organise it, and each calls on her own son to fend for her alone; and, in that case, if one wife has no son she will just have to enlist the services of other people to live for her (remunerating their efforts with food at the end of each day). Sometimes too the custom arises in this way—a boy finds that his step-mothers are reluctant to work hard for him when he comes in from fencing, he compares that with his own mother works for him generously they do not, and so he begins to live for his mother alone.

"The custom of living together, on the other hand, is determined by the will of the men, who himself organises it. And whenever a man is rigorous in having them one will find that he and his sons all live together. It is only when a man is dead that the custom of living separately arises from the orders of the women, and if the man is rigorous in having his wives and sons return and suggestions about working, they have to do his will just as he was do."

When their husband dies women pass to his heir. If the heir is a brother of the dead man then he takes them all to wife, if a son he takes

[1] The custom of marrying two wives and then of subdividing a dead father's estate in such a way that each wife receives the shares of each of her "motherless" children, for the sons of a dead woman make the dead woman's children as her own.

§84 her own father and the chief. A man has the right to divorce his wife, that is to send her away and demand back his cows, if she is dirty or lazy in housework or if she commits adultery, but men do not often demand a divorce for adultery unless it is persistent. If a man sends his wife away for some such reason she returns to her father and he, if he has cows available, sends back to her husband his marriage-cattle, if he has not got the cows the husband must wait until the girl is remarried.

§85 §87 Into the relationship of mother and daughter economic co-operation and reciprocity enter. The care of young children is largely in the hands of their older sisters, and the girls also help their own mothers in field-work and in fetching and carrying. In return their mothers cook for them, teach them how to work themselves and how to make mats.

§88 §92 Each mother is responsible also for her own daughter's virginity. One of the bulls which a young man brings during the initiation of his betrothed with is only given if the girl is found on examination to be still virgin, or if he has deflowered her himself. It is given this bull belongs to the girl's mother to eat with her own friends. But, in spite of her mother's responsibility for her, a girl learns nothing positive from her mother about sex, but from her own slightly older friends; with them she discusses the menses of love-making in detail, but never with her mother.

§93 The relationships of siblings are, in general, closer than those of half-siblings, and the elder are in each individual family in privileged places to brothers. A boy's claim for cattle is, as we have seen, partly based on the time and energy he has put into looking his parents' fields; but it also depends, in part, on having full-sisters of his own. When a girl marries the cows come to her father, but her own full-brothers expect to receive them one, in turn, for their own marriages, in the order of their age. Though the father controls the cattle the brothers speak of them as "our cows" and they have an ultimate legal claim to them, which only gives interest or touch to their father can altogether refuse. The eldest of a group of full-brothers is the first to draw on these cows and to marry, his juniors wait longer. Full-brothers are bound together in many ways; the eldest, who is privileged, is bound to help his juniors in any way he can, and they in turn respect him and in some give to him some cows from the marriages of their own daughters; §92 §93 and each makes the others' quarrels his own. What chiefly unites them is the law of inheritance, for though the eldest has first right to the cattle from their sisters' marriages, and though the younger ones, later in life, give cattle from their daughters' marriages to him, yet they are his heirs, and all his privileges in time pass to them. When the eldest dies his next

B:Wilson E-5 (1934-1936)1936 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

law to all his classificatory brothers. The normal routine of life is 606
constantly interrupted by women's avoidance of these men, they crouch
and hide and make wide detours to avoid them, a man comes into a room
and a woman runs out hastily, a father cannot enter his son's house while
his son's wives are cooking there, ceremonies are duplicated to avoid
bringing them in contact. Few people seem to realize the meaning of 606
this taboo, but occasionally a man is found who tells a story which makes 773
its function abundantly clear. It is said that an old chief, long ago
before the taboo was instituted, fell in love with his son's wife and took
her, and such was the horror of everyone at what he had done that this
taboo was instituted. This story expresses the necessity, in a society
where old men are accustomed to take the young women as wives, of
guarding in some way against the possibility of a father desiring his own
son's wife for himself; more particularly perhaps because the cows for
her marriage have come from him.

This taboo, separating father and daughter-in-law is one of the 606
reasons for the age-village system which we must next discuss. For in 621
Nyakyusa society father and son live in different villages.

Age-Villages

The most characteristic relationships of the Nyakyusa people are 621
those which centre in the age-village. Villages and age-groups are 561
common enough in other societies, and are familiar to all of us, but it is
rare to find them combined; it is very uncommon to find, as we do
among the Nyakyusa, that local groups of contemporaries live together
for most or all of their lives.

Age-villages are formed by groups of men, all roughly of the same age, their wives and young children. Women belong to the villages of their husbands, young children to those of their fathers. The number of households in an age-village varies, but thirty is probably a fair average. Girls, as we have seen, live at home until they marry, which they normally do soon after puberty, and then each goes to the house and joins the village of her husband. But boys, who marry later in life, leave home at about the age of ten or eleven and set up villages of their own.

(a) *Herd-Boys*

Between the ages of about six and eleven the boys sleep at their 857 ●
fathers' houses and herd their fathers' cattle. This is a full-time if not a
very arduous occupation; the cattle are driven out about an hour after
sunrise and return to be milked about 1 p.m.; after an hour they are again
driven out and do not come back until nearly sunset. The cattle of eight

8: W Leon E-5 (1934-1936) 1936 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

857 to twelve neighbours are usually herded together by their young sons; and so these boys spend all the day together for several years of their lives. This group of boys is the germ of the future age-village: it is a community with a common activity in the herding of the cattle, with a leader and with laws and customs of its own.

"When we herd cows as boys" a friend of mine told me "there is always one who is obeyed by his fellows whatever he says. No one chooses him, he gains his leadership and his prestige by bodily strength. For always, when we are all boys together among the cows, we vie with one another and dispute about going to turn back straying cattle or about fetching fire to cook the food we have brought with us. And so we start fighting, and we go on fighting until one of us beats all his fellows completely and so becomes the leader. And then it is he who sends the others to turn back straying cattle, to fetch fire and to collect firewood. And he is greatly respected. He settles quarrels too. What we quarrel about most as boys is a particular insult; one says to another: 'You are only a child, you are, I am your senior.' This is always happening and then it is the part of the one who is leader to set those two on to fight. We all stand round and watch and the one who first cries is proved the child."

The herd-boys of my own acquaintance, a group of eleven altogether, told me that besides insulting one another like this, boys often cause trouble in their little community by stealing cow-bells from one another's cattle and hiding them away for future use. And one day, when I visited the local herd, the leader of the herd-boys told me they had caught two boys drowning a sheep that morning so as to be able to pretend it had drowned itself by accident, and then they would have had some of the meat to eat. "We beat them very much," he told me, and he called one of the culprits to come and exhibit his weals. The leader further explained to me that such cases would not ever be reported at home, unless the culprits themselves complained to their parents that they had been unjustly beaten, "then," he said, "I should explain what they had done, and they would get beaten again!"

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The time that is not spent in herding cows, in arranging and watching duels and in punishing wrongdoers, is spent in playing various games, occasionally in pitched battles with neighbouring herd-boys, and in cooking and eating small amounts of food brought from home.

857 572 Friendships formed between members of this group sometimes last a lifetime. An old man once said to me of a friend of his who had died: "We herded cows together when we were boys."

B:W Govt E-5 (1936-1950)/936 FW17 Uganda FW17
Nyakyusa

So the boys one by one reach the age of ten or eleven, two important changes usually take place in their lives. Firstly they leave the herding of cows to their younger brothers, and themselves begin the business of hoeing the fields which will occupy them until they die; and secondly they no longer sleep in the houses of their fathers but join an age-village of boys. These two changes usually, but not always, take place at the same time and normally at about the age of ten or eleven years, well before puberty. But there are cases where special circumstances put the age of one or both of these changes later. I know one boy who herds his father's cattle although he has reached puberty, because he has no younger brother old enough to take over, and there are only five or six boys in his herd-group altogether. And in general I am told it is not uncommon for some boys who have reached puberty to be found still herding cattle. Again in one age-village the boys have home a little later than usual because there are leopards about and it is dangerous for small boys to walk from the village of their fathers to that of the boys after dark.

(3) *The Boys' Village*

When a fair number of the sons of a village of married men have reached the right age, their fathers give them a piece of land to one side of the parent village on which to build. There they build little huts of reeds for themselves, sufficiently well-thatched to keep out the heavy rain, and there they sleep. The building of the huts on this land begins, in a playful manner, before the boys move. While they are still herding the cows and sleeping at home they build miniature huts there in their spare time, but do not sleep in them. When they move they build slightly more substantial huts with a better thatch. Until he marries each boy have his father's fields in his father's village and eats food cooked by his own mother at his father's house. But he sleeps with his friends. Thus between the time when he leaves home and his marriage each is a member of two villages, economically he still belongs to that of his father, socially to that of his own contemporaries. Though bachelors eat at their parents' homes, it is very rarely that they do not eat in the company of their own friends. A bachelor does not simply go home to eat but a group of bachelors, friends of the same boys'-village, go round together eating at the house of each one's mother in turn.

In an age-village of married men there are always several different herds of cattle; and it is not only those from the same group of herd-boys that set up a new village together, but all the sons of the age-village. When a boy leaves the herd-group he joins a larger community, including the friends of his own age who have herded cows with him, but many

The age system of the Nyakyusa has been described in detail in *Good Company*,[1] but, since it forms the basis of their social structure, a brief explanation must here be given for the benefit of readers unacquainted with that earlier volume. Within each chiefdom there are a number of villages composed each of persons of the same age-group. Villages begin when small boys of eight or ten years build together at a little distance from their fathers. They are joined by younger brothers, as these reach the age when boys stop sleeping at home, until the eldest are in their middle teens, when the youngsters will be old enough to begin another village. The boys of a village have their own leader, a 'natural' leader, not specifically appointed, but they are subject to the headman of their fathers' village, and formerly fought as a group under his direction. But at the 'coming out' a headman for each village is elected from among its members by the fathers: if he dies, his heir—a younger brother or son—inherits his position, so that sometimes a young man becomes headman of an old man's village, taking the name and social position of his father. Only commoners are eligible as headmen: we know one candidate who was rejected because his great-grandfather was a chief.

Two villages in each chiefdom are senior to the others and their headmen are responsible each for half of the country. During the 'coming out' ritual the chief marries two wives, 'mothers of the country', and one is established in each senior village or capital (*ikinguluka*). The eldest son of these two wives are the heirs, and later divide the old chief's country between them. Most of the chief's junior wives are divided between the capitals but some may be settled in a colonising village in unoccupied country. All the chief's sons build with commoners in villages appropriate to their age, and all save the two heirs are subject to the commoner headmen of their villages. They are entitled to some respect as 'sons of the chief', and those of strong personality gain a following and settle disputes between their fellows (as may any commoner), but only the two senior sons can claim political authority.

Before the 'coming out' the villages of young men and their fathers adjoin, for the boys have built on their fathers' land, on the fringes of their fathers' villages. But at the 'coming out' there is a new deal in land. The young men are established in the centre of the country and their fathers move to the periphery; it is not merely that fathers and sons exchange land, but all the boundaries

[1] Monica Wilson, *Good Company*, 1951.